

Message Text

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PAGE 01 THE HA 00785 01 OF 02 180616Z

15

ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 PM-03 NSC-05 SP-02 CIAE-00

INR-07 L-02 ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 USIA-06

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 MC-02 SSO-00 CAB-02 COME-00 DOTE-00

EB-07 FAA-00 /072 W

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P R 180615Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5247

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

OSAF/INL PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY OSLO

USMISSION NATO

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN

CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AFB

AFSC ANDREWS AFB

ASD WPAFB OH/CC/OI/YP

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 THE HAGUE 0785

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MASS, NL

SUBJ: F-104 REPLACEMENT: STATUS REPORT

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY INGERSOLL

SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE SUMMARIZES THE PLUSSES AND MINUSES OF FEBRUARY 15 IN OUR EFFORTS TO SELL THE GON THE F-16. WE CONCLUDE THAT ON MILITARY AND ECONOMIC GROUNDSOUR POSITION IS GOOD. FROM THE POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW THERE ARE SERIOUS PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF THE COMBINED OPPOSITION TO THE F-16 OF THOSE WHO ARE DETERMINED THAT THE NETHERLANDS SHALL BUY THE MIRAGE AND THOSE WHO ARE AGITATING VEHEMENTLY AGAINST THE PURCHASE OF ANY
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PAGE 02 THE HA 00785 01 OF 02 180616Z

EXPENSIVE HIGH-PERFORMANCE AIRCRAFT. THE MESSAGE ALSO

OUTLINES THE EMBASSY'S ACTION CAMPAIGN AIMED AT SEVERAL DIFFERENT FOCUSSES OF OPPOSITION WHICH HAVE NOT CLEARLY EMERGED AND IDENTIFIES KEY POINTS ON WHICH FURTHER ASSISTANCE FROM WASHINGTON IS NEEDED. END SUMMARY.

1. THIS IS HOW WE SEE THE OUTLOOK FOR THE SALE OF THE F-16 TO THE NETHERLANDS AS OF FEBRUARY 15. ON THE MINUS SIDE THERE IS A STRONG DESIRE ON THE PART OF SEVERAL IMPORTANT DUTCH OFFICIALS LED BY MINISTER OF DEFENSE VREDELING TO GIVE A POWERFUL BOOST TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT EUROPEAN AEROSPACE INDUSTRY. THIS KEEPS THE MIRAGE PROPOSAL ALIVE AND COMPELLING, EVEN THOUGH ALL OBJECTIVE DUTCH AUTHORITIES RECOGNIZE THAT ON THE MERITS THE MIRAGE DOES NOT STAND UP TO THE F-16 PROPOSAL. VREDELING'S FEBRUARY 13 SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT (THE HAGUE 755) MAKES A STRONG CASE FOR A "EUROPEAN SOLUTION" TO THE FIGHTER REPLACEMENT QUESTION. ALTHOUGH HE LEFT HIMSELF LEEWAY IN THAT CONTEXT TO ACCEPT THE F-16, ONE NEWSPAPER HAS REPORTED THAT HE MAY HAVE TO RESIGN IF THE GON OPTS FOR THE F-16.

A. THE SECOND MINUS IS THE STRONG OPPOSITION INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF PARLIAMENT TO THE PURCHASE OF ANY HIGHPERFORMANCE AIRCRAFT SUCH AS THE F-16. MOST OF THE PROPONENTS OF THIS POINT OF VIEW BELONG TO THE LABOR PARTY OR ITS ALLIES. THEIR SPOKESMAN IN PARLIAMENT IS THE LABOR PARTY'S DEFENSE EXPERT, PIETER DANKERT, WHO SPELLED OUT HIS VIEWS TO THE EMBASSY ON FEBRUARY 13 (THE HAGUE 754). WE SHOULD BE CLEAR THAT WHILE DANKERT IS PUSHING THE NORTHROP F-5E AS THE ALTERNATE TO THE F-16, THERE IS NO GUARANTEE THAT HE WILL NOT SWITCH HIS SUPPORT TO THE JAGUAR OR ANOTHER EUROPEAN-BUILT FIGHTER IN THIS CLASS IN ORDER TO MAKE COMMON CAUSE WITH THOSE MILITATING FOR A DEVELOPMENT OF A EUROPEAN AEROSPACE INDUSTRY.

B. THE THIRD MINUS IS THE STRONG SUPPORT BEING GIVEN VREDELING'S POINT OF VIEW BY G.C. KLAPWIJK, CHAIRMAN OF THE BORD OF MANAGEMENT OF FOKKER-VFW AIRCRAFT. WHILE KLAPWIJK'S MOTIVES ARE NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR AND MAY BE PERSONAL AS WELL AS PROFESSIONAL, HE IS USING CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 THE HA 00785 01 OF 02 180616Z

ALL OF HIS NOT INCONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE IN FAVOR OF A MIRAGE PURCHASE.

C. DANKERT AND OTHER POLITICIANS ARE ATTACKING THE BASIC RATIONALE FOR A LIMITED SUPERIORITY REPLACEMENT FIGHTER ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE DUTCH AIR FORCE GOT NATO TO WRITE THE CRITERIA IN TERMS OF WHAT THE AIR FORCE WANTED, NOT IN TERMS OF WHAT THE NETHERLANDS WOULD REALLY

NEED TO DO ITS NATO-ASSIGNED MISSION.

D. HANGING OVER THE WHOLE FIGHTER REPLACEMENT QUESTION IS THE UNRESOLVED KLM CAPACITY PROBLEM. EVEN THOUGH NONE OF THE DUTCH OFFICIALS DIRECTLY INVOLVED HAVE AVOWED ANY LINKAGE, THE FACT IS THAT THE KLM PROBLEM WILL CONTINUE TO COMPLICATE OUR EFFORTS TO SELL THE F-16 UNTIL SUCH TIME AS WE REACH AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THE DUTCH ON OUR BILATERAL CIVIL AIR RELATIONS.

2. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE WE WOULD LIST THE CONTACTS WHICH GENERAL DYNAMICS AND UNITED AIRCRAFT ARE BEGINNING TO ESTABLISH WITH DUTCH INDUSTRY. WITH SUBSTANTIAL HELP FROM THE EMBASSY, THEY HAVE ALSO MADE A GOOD START IN THEIR CONTACTS WITH TRADE UNION REPRESENTATIVES CONCERNED WITH THE OFFSET PACKAGE. WE ARE LOOKING CONSIDERABLY BETTER WITH THE MEDIA. SEVERAL ARTICLES IN IMPORTANT NATIONAL DAILIES AND WEEKLIES REFLECTING THE BRIEFING WE HAVE GIVEN THEM HAVE EMPHASIZED THE CLEAR SUPERIORITY OF OUR F-16 PROPOSAL OVER THE FRENCH COMPETITION (THE MEDIA HAVE GOTTEN THE MESSAGE THAT THE VIGGEN NO LONGER HAS ANY REAL CHANCE).

A. THE DIVISIVE KLM ISSUE WAS BLUNTED CONSIDERABLY BY THE SECRETARY'S AGREEMENT DURING HIS DUTCH TV INTERVIEW (THE HAGUE 723) TO REOPEN THE NEGOTIATIONS FROM A WIDER PERSPECTIVE, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THAT FOR THE NETHERLANDS IT IS NOT SIMPLY A TECHNICAL ISSUE. NEVERTHELESS, THE CAMPAIGN OF THE BIGGEST NATIONAL DAILY TO COLLECT SIGNATURES IN SUPPORT OF KLM-50,000 SO FAR-HAS KEPT THE ISSUE IN THE PUBLIC CONSCIOUSNESS AS BOTH A CAUSE OF ANXIETY AND A SOURCE OF NATIONAL PRIDE.

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PAGE 01 THE HA 00785 02 OF 02 180630Z

12

ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 PM-03 NSC-05 SP-02 CIAE-00

INR-07 L-02 ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 USIA-06

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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY OSLO
USMISSION NATO
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AFB
AFSC ANDREWS AFB
ASD WPAFB OH/CC/OI/YP

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 THE HAGUE 0785

B. WE HAVE IT FROM SEVERAL GOOD AUTHORITIES, THOUGH
NOT FROM VAN DER STOEL HIMSELF, THAT HE HAS THROWN HIS
WEIGHT BEHIND THE F-16.

3. OUR ACTION PROGRAM FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE INCLUDES
PUSHING FOR MORE INTENSIVE LABOR CONTACTS. WE BELIEVE
THAT ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT WAYS TO UNDERCUT PRO-
PONENTS OF BOTH THE MIRAGE AND A CHEAPER PLANE IS TO
DEMONSTRATE WHAT THE F-16 PROGRAM WILL MEAN IN TERMS OF
ADDITIONAL JOBS AT A TIME WHEN UNEMPLOYMENT HAS REACHED
FIVE PERCENT AND IS STILL RISING. WE ARE PLANNING A
NUMBER OF STEPS TO NEUTRALIZE FOKKER'S OPPOSITION TO THE
F-16, INCLUDING THE FAR GREATER ECONOMIC BENEFITS AND
TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY OUR OFFER WILL BRING TO THE NETHER-
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PAGE 02 THE HA 00785 02 OF 02 180630Z

LANDS. WE EXPECT TO MAKE HEADWAY WITH PROPONENTS OF THE
F-5E ALTERNATIVE AT A LUNCHEON THE AMBASSADOR WILL GIVE
ON FEBRUARY 26 FOR VISITING DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY
LOWENSTEIN, AT WHICH DANKERT AND MEMBERS OF HIS FOREIGN
AFFAIRS COMMITTEE WILL BE GUESTS.

4. CONCLUSIONS:

A. AS FAR AS THE GON IS CONCERNED, THERE ARE NO
GROUNDS FOR EITHER COMPLACENCY OR DESPAIR. WE DO NOT
EXPECT A DECISION TO FOLLOW SOON AFTER THE FEBRUARY 17
MOD'S MEETING. THERE IS A GOOD CHANCE OF AN EVEN LONGER
DELAY.

B. THE BATTLE HAS BEEN JOINED PUBLICLY. OPPONENTS
OF THE F-16 ARE HAVING TO AIR THEIR ARGUMENTS OPENLY.
THIS PERMITS US TO TARGET OUR RESOURCES MORE PRECISELY.

C. ON THE POLICY SIDE, DEPUTY SECRETARY INGERSOLL'S RECENT MESSAGE (STATE 29570) WAS EXTREMELY USEFUL IN CRYSTALLIZING THE STRATEGIC AND POLITICAL ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE F-16. ADDITIONALLY, WE WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO SAY THAT WASHINGTON HAS REVIEWED OUR RECENT CONVERSATIONS AND FULLY SUPPORTS THE POSITION WE HAVE TAKEN THAT NO AIRCRAFT IN THE F-5E CLASS WILL DO THE JOB THAT NATO HAS ASSIGNED TO THE ROYAL NETHERLANDS AIR FORCE IN THE 1980'S.

D. WHAT WE NEED TO DISCONNECT THE CIVIL AIR ISSUE COMPLETELY FROM THE FIGHTER REPLACEMENT QUESTION IS A CLEAR-CUT AFFIRMATIVE ACTION WASHINGTON TO FOLLOW UP ON THE SECRETARY'S POSITIVE REMARKS IN HIS DUTCH TV INTERVIEW. THIS COULD, FOR EXAMPLE, TAKE THE FORM OF AN ANNOUNCEMENT FROM WASHINGTON THAT THE US WAS EXAMINING THE KLM CAPACITY PROBLEM AS PART OF THE CURRENT REVIEW OF OVERALL US AVIATION POLICY. IN THE MEANWHILE, THERE WOULD BE NO UNILATERAL ACTION AGAINST KLM PRIOR TO A NEW ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS OR A NEW CONTACT BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL.

E. THE ACTION REQUESTED ABOVE WOULD BE ESPECIALLY
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PAGE 03 THE HA 00785 02 OF 02 180630Z

HELPFUL TO FONMIN VAN DER STOEL, OUR MOST IMPORTANT ALLY ON THE F-16 SALE, WHO HAS ASSUMED PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEFENDING KLM AGAINST US PRESSURE. HIS ABILITY TO HELP US ON THE F-16 WHEN THE CHIPS COME DOWN WILL BE SEVERELY HANDICAPPED IF HE HAS GOTTEN NO SATISFACTION ON THE KLM ISSUE. WE RECOMMEND THEREFORE THAT IF THE US IS NOT PREPARED TO MOVE EXPEDITIOUSLY TO A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION, THE ISSUE BE BACK-BURNERED ALONG THE LINES SUGGESTED IN 4(D) ABOVE.

5. THIS SITREP WILL BE UPDATED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TEMPO AND IMPORTANCE OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS.
TANGUY

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